2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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585 also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

591 The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65] 595 Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate [587] was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

586 Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

684 837 [834] Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 126; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 126; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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among the Indians as long as there were no Indian wars. Through the examples of the traders, also the Indians acquired the habit of drinking to excess. Secondly, the Indians had formerly great respect for the aged and the chiefs, from whom they learned that unfaithfulness in the marriage relationship was a great crime and that whoever was guilty of such evil would live neither long nor happily. At the present time they show little reverence to the aged and each one thinks himself to be wise in his own conceits.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution. There are generally clever and experienced women enough who are able to give assistance and advice in time of labor; generally, women will remain in the house at this time. Some go into the woods by themselves and bring their children to the house when they have seen the light of day. Most mothers nurse their children until they are two or more years old. During this time many husbands have concubines, though not in the house.

If it is left to the mother to give the child a name, she uses little ceremony and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance the Beautiful, the Good Child, the Great-Eye, sometimes giving it a name of unsavory meaning. If the father gives the child a name he pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named. It is not common to call an adult by his name, for they are ashamed of their own names. If the attention of any one is to be attracted it is done in some other fashion than by the use of the name. In case of children, the names are used. In assemblies and in discourses they do not use the name of any one who is present, though absent persons are referred to by their names.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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those within dwelling happily but not able to enter. They would receive nothing but poisonous wood and poisonous roots to eat, holding them ever near the brink of a bitter death but not suffering them to die.

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While these preachers admonished the Indians to lead a good and virtuous life their own walk and conduct altogether disagreed with their exhortation. They introduced polygamy, and during their sermons had several of their wives sitting 'round about them. They even pretended that it was a charitable and meritorious act in them, as men living upon terms of intimacy with God, to take these poor ignorant women and lead them in the way to God and to the enjoyment of eternal felicity.

This part of their doctrine was greatly relished by the Indians, and it is a lamentable truth that since that period adultery, fornication and other such abominations have been more frequent among the Indians. The young began to despise the counsel of the aged and endeavored to get into favor with these preachers whose followers multiplied very fast. Some of the preachers went even so far as to make themselves equal with God. They affirmed that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents. Even some of the most sensible and respected Indians assented to their doctrines, punctually following their prescriptions even at the hazard of health and life. Some of the latter we now have in the congregation, who have learned that nothing avails to deliver from the servitude of sin save the blood of Jesus Christ.

One of these preachers often proclaimed openly to the Indians that he was quite at home at the side of God, went in and out of his presence where neither sin nor Satan could do him harm; he stated, however, that he had never heard of the God on the cross preached by the Moravians, and did not believe him to be the real God for his God had no wounds and gave him whenever he appeared a little piece of bread, white as snow. On another occasion, having prepared a drink of bilberries he announced that this was the blood of the Son of

584 Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a [431] return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author 591 who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

462 The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

586 There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no [595] evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the 768 widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected 587 to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

648 Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as 431 the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the 574 Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.80 and 159; Penn, p.32).

525 The following games were probably played in this early period: [526] footraces (lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
§ = some, sometimes, or several
† or* = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
565 585 584 851 848 848 512 856 352 854 816 858												
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves						15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+			20+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(−)	+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		+	•	+
118. with cushion			−			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	•	+		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•			•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	§	−
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(−)	−				−	−	−	•	*−	−	+
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			−		−	+	−	+	+	−	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship						−	−	*(+)	−	−	*−	−
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	−	§	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+	•	+	−	+	−
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	−	•	•	−	−	−
138. Time served by boy												
139. Polygamy common †	−	−		−		−	−	−	•	−	−	−
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

141.	Any superiority among wives				+	+	−			+	−		
142.	strongest				+								
143.	oldest									+			
144.	youngest					+							
145.	Polyandry				−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
146.	Sororate — polygynous				+	+	+	−	−	−	+		
147.	Sororate — succesive			+	+	+	−	+		+	+		
148.	Sororate — obligatory			•+	+	−		•+		−	+		
149.	Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•		
150.	Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•		
151.	Equally so in the man		+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•		
152.	Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)	+	+		+	(+)	+	+		
153.	Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+		
154.	Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
155.	May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
156.	by wife		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
157.	Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+		−	−		
158.	Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	•	+		+	•+		
159.	Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship					+	+						
160.	to any known degree			+		+		+	+	+	+		
161.	Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	−	−	−	+		
162.	Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	•	+	+		
163.	Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−		
164.	Common for unmarried women to have children		+			+	+	+	−	−	+		
165.	Injurious to their reputations		+			+	•+	+			−		
166.	Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−		
167.	Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+		
168.	Proportion of married women without children †				•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
169.	Average number of children in family						2-3	•	2	2	1	2-3	2+
170.	Average interval between births (yrs.)											18-	
171.	Age women generally begin to bear children						16	•	16	30	21	20	20
172.	Age to cease						40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173.	Age that men commonly get married		•	18-			15-					18-	17+
			•	20			25	F30	20	25	25	21	F20
174.	Age that women commonly get married			14-								16-	17+
			•	16			•	F24	20	20	20	21	F20

585 587 857 586 582 836 511 844 886 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, ritual, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48). Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period, but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more likely that the custom simply ceased to be active. 595 587

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect. 586 [967]

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without marriage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows 588 848

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

LINDESTRÖM says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

JOHN JOHNSTON—The young couple have nothing to say to [584] each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married.

CAPTAIN PIPE—There is no ceremony of courtship and mar- 584 riage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father as- 585 certained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known.

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally have but one [wife] for 592 they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one 595 that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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592 595 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband when he deigns to make them.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 587 JOHN JOHNSTON—If the man appears to regret the loss of his wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months, the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 CAPTAIN PIPE—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 ZEISBERGER, CAPTAIN CHIPPS, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. HECKE-

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1969
NM7 Delaware NM7

[55(c)]

000 tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here.
595 Two well known Indians have two wives
183 each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a
657 bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

Religious System of the Delawares[91]

776 William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

776 821 1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thun-
[825] der. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

776 823 4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

776 [824] 5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell